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A Malay Village in Kelantan, 1970-1991 *

Yoshihiro TSUBOUCHI **

I Background

A community study of Galok, a Malay village in Kelantan on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, was conducted for a period of 13 months from July 1970. The same village was visited by the same researcher from September to November 1991. This was his fourth visit to the village.¹⁾ Many people had moved out of the village, and many others had come to live there in the intervening 20 years. The villagers' contact with towns and cities had increased remarkably and agricultural activities had declined. The accompanying changes in the village population will be recorded and analysed in the following.

In the late nineteenth century, the population of Kelantan was distributed along the coast and the lower stream of the Kelantan River. With time, the existing communities grew larger, and many new communities were opened along the middle and upper stream, and also in areas away from the river. The village of Galok is situated along the road connecting Pasir Mas and Tanah Merah at a distance of 400 to 800 m from the river. The village is estimated to have been opened around 1890. The village was there long before the road was constructed in 1935, and absorbed more people after this event. The name of the village was derived from that of marsh (*kebang*), which disappeared many years ago. The main crop was paddy produced in the rain-fed fields, and rubber was introduced soon after. Galok may be considered as one of the traditional villages in the sense that paddy cultivation formed a part of villagers' activities.

Galok had 145 households in 1971, 157²⁾ in 1984, and 211 in 1991. The village was already overpopulated in 1971 in terms of agricultural land, and the population increase in the 20 years was mainly due to the residential function of the village. There were 71

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1) The second research in Galok was conducted for three weeks in 1977, and 15 paddy-cultivators and 9 non-paddy-cultivators were interviewed. The third research was conducted for one month in 1984 to trace changes in household composition.

2) This may be an underestimation due to overlooking a part of in-migrants.

paddy growers in 1971, but their number had decreased to 36 in 1991. The production of paddy was not enough for self-sufficiency in 1971, and the same situation continued, which means that paddy cultivation had become less significant than ever. Ninety-four households were tapping rubber in 1971, and 53 households in 1991. Replanted rubber estates and abandoned ones are observed here and there. Tobacco cultivation was introduced into the village in 1968 and marked its peak in 1971, when 124 households engaged in cultivation. The number of cultivators had decreased to 40 households in 1991. The average scale of cultivation was 3,891 plants in 1971, falling to 3,444 in 1991. Migratory labor in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur became more important for the economy of village households, and salaried or wage labor in Pasir Mas and Tanah Merah also increased.

The most remarkable increase in regular employment, both numerically and symbolically, was seen in teaching profession. There were only 3 teachers living in Galok in 1971, all of them males born elsewhere. In 1991, 18 teachers including 4 females lived in the village. The spread of education in rural areas combined with the Malay priority policy enabled Galok residents of 1971 to produce 28 teachers, including 19 males and 9 females. All of these teachers except one were under 20 years of age in 1971. Eight of them (6 males and 2 females) had returned to the village and were teaching in surrounding areas.

Representative wage labor was working at saw mills in Tanah Merah District. Sixteen villagers, mainly males in their twenties, were employed in this unstable kind of work. Migratory labor was mostly directed toward Singapore, and mutual help among the Kelantanese was remarkable there. The usual working period in Singapore does not exceed three months due to visa regulations. Twenty-eight villagers, including one 34-year-old female working as a cook, earn at least a part of their income from migratory labor in Singapore. In addition, 30 males including 6 in their fifties had once worked in Singapore.

These occupational activities, though comprising only a part of the total, clearly show the changes of the economic activities in Galok. The miscellaneous or mixed character of income activities was observed both in 1971 and 1991. What is called *kerja kampung* (village work) includes agricultural activities and occasional wage labor.

II Changes in Population Structure

The purpose of this report is to describe how these economic changes are reflected in population structure and family composition. Population pyramids of 1971 and 1991 are shown in Fig. 1. The population of 1991 exceeds that of 1971 for each age-group except that of females aged 85 years and over. Percentage of each age-group is shown in Fig. 2 for these two years. Though the change in the shape of the population pyramid is minimal, the share of youth has become somewhat smaller and that of the aged somewhat larger. The former is a result of out-migration and the latter reflects an improved survival rate.

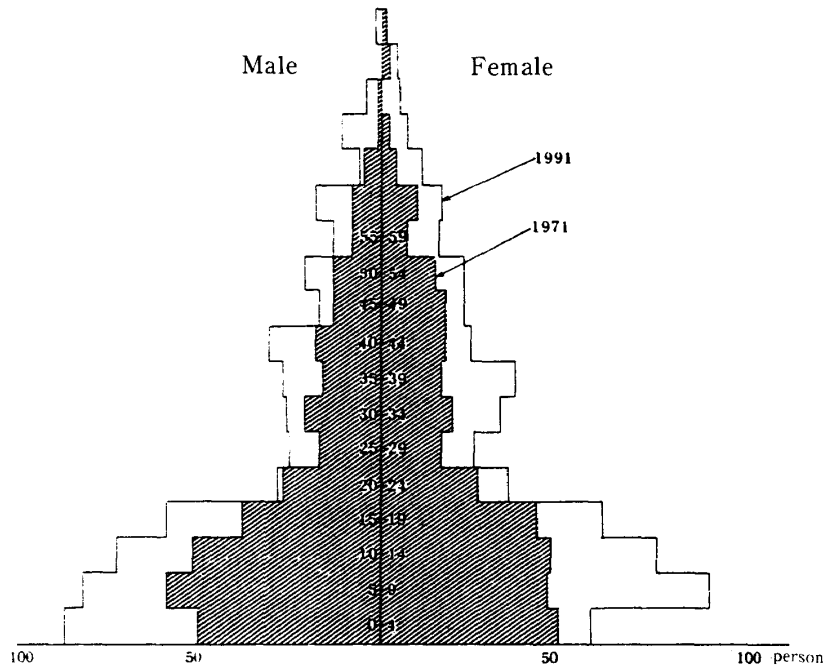


Fig.1 Population Pyramids of 1971 and 1991 Showing Actual Numbers of People

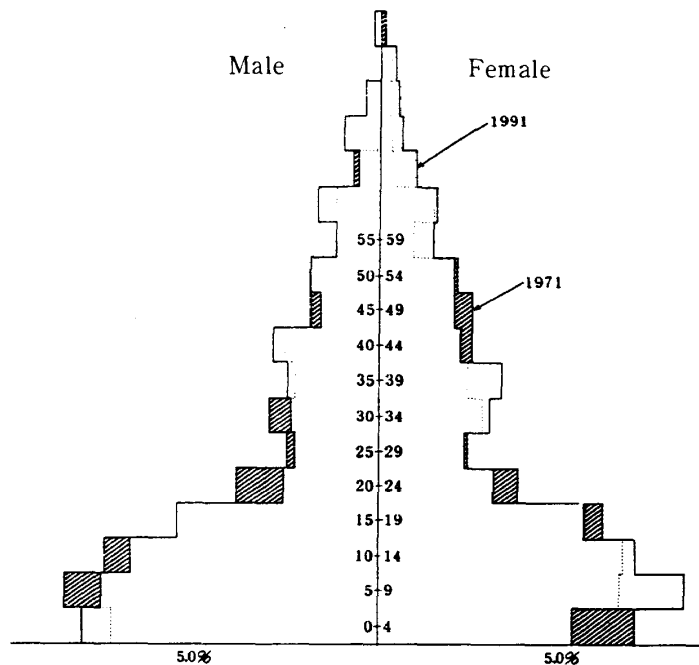


Fig.2 Population Pyramids of 1971 and 1991 Showing Percentage Distribution

Those still living in the village in 1991 are marked on the 1971 population pyramid in Fig. 3. The figure reveals the substantial number of in-migrants. The difference between youths under 25 years of age and those older should be accounted for carefully. The latter include married-in spouses, while the former were mostly unmarried as of 1971, and would have remained if their spouses married-in. The sex-ratio of those who stayed in the

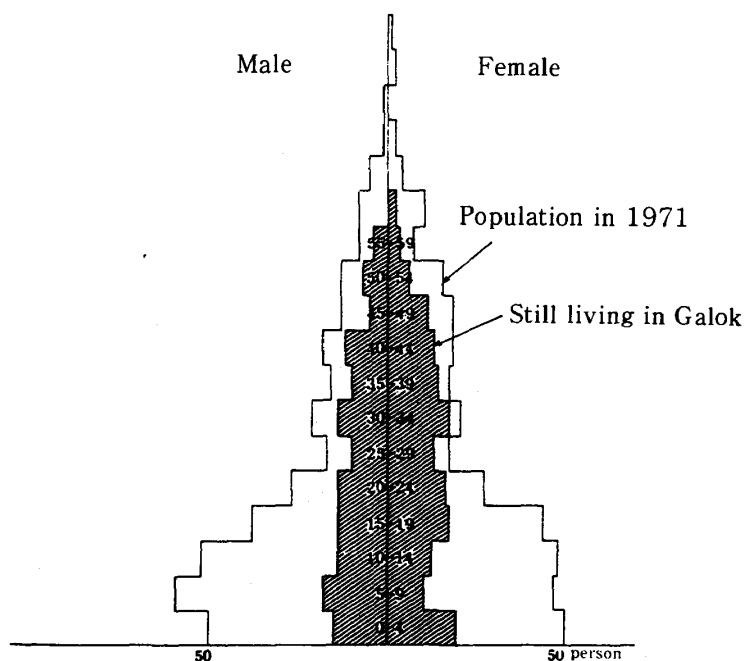


Fig.3 Numbers of People Still Living in Galok in 1991 Marked on the 1971 Population Pyramid

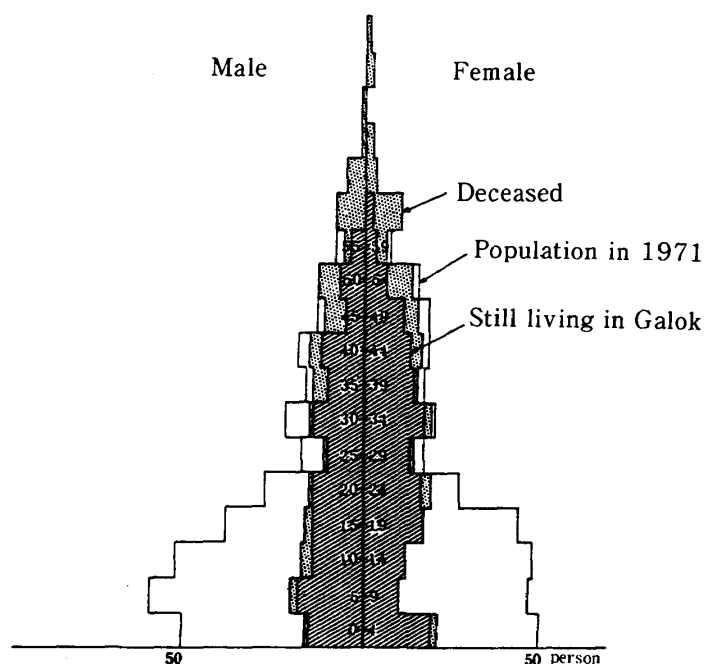


Fig.4 Numbers of People Still Living in Galok in 1991 and Those Deceased after 1971 Marked on the 1971 Population Pyramid

village is about 0.9, which reflects the bilateral character of kinship among the Malays.

The numbers of people deceased after 1971 are added to the population pyramid of 1971 in Fig. 4. Not many of those over 30 years of age in 1971 live outside of the village.

In contrast, among the 1971 residents under 20 years of age, more have moved out than have remained in the village. Those who lived in the village in 1971 are shown on the population pyramid of 1991 in Fig. 5. Among those who were under 20 years of age in 1971 (20 to 39 in 1991), the number who have moved out exceeds the number of the same age who have moved in.

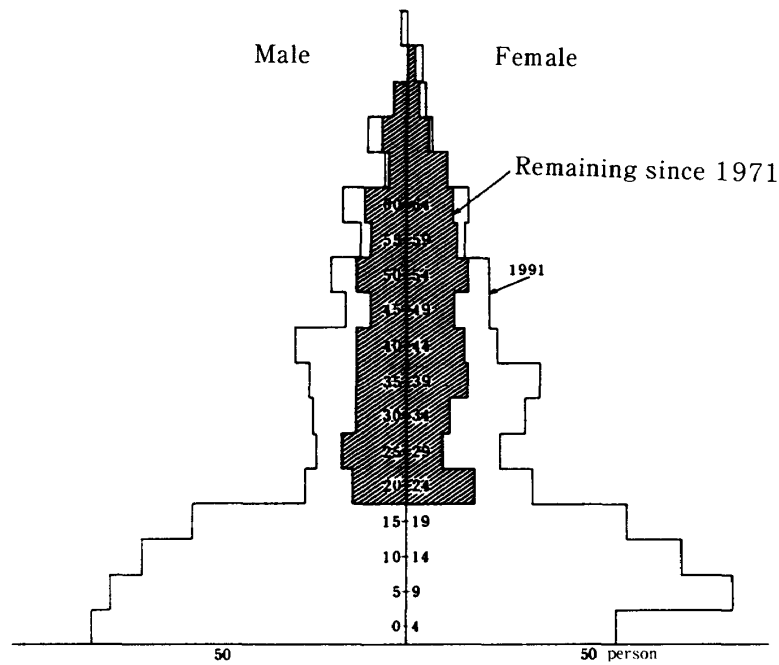


Fig.5 Numbers Counted in 1971 Marked on the 1991 Population Pyramid

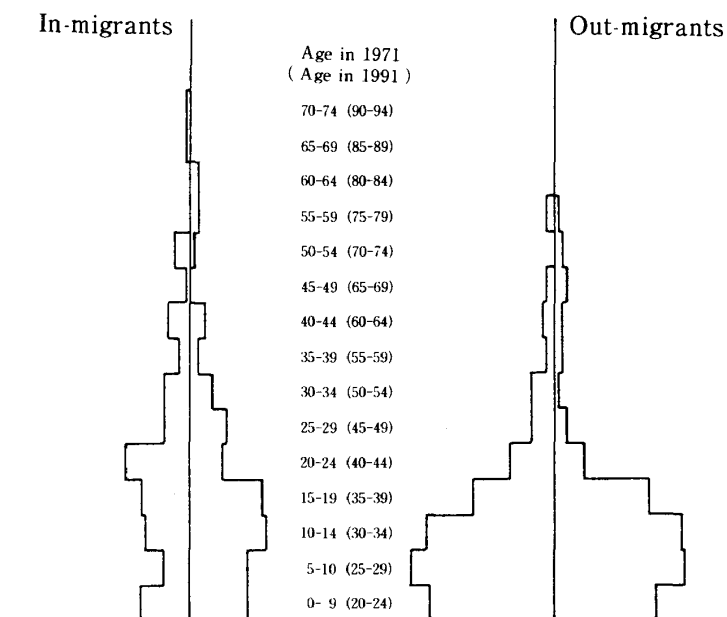


Fig.6 Numbers of In-migrants and Out-migrants

Table 1 Out-migrants from the 1971 Population by Present Residence

Age in 1971	Kuala Lumpur (Incl. P. J.)		Out of Kelantan (Excl. K.L.)		Ulu Kelantan District		Tanah Merah District		Kota Bharu District		Pasir Mas District (Excl. Galok)		Other Places (Incl. Unknown)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4	6	6	10	8	6	3	2	5	3	2	5	1	2	3
5 - 9	8	2	9	12	7	5	4	4	2	4	7	7	2	2
10 - 14	6	2	11	7	5	2	6	8	2	5	2	9	3	2
15 - 19	5	3	7	4	3	2	1	3	2	2	4	7		5
20 - 24			3		2	1	1			1	6	3		3
25 - 29			2			1		1		1	4			
30 - 34					1		1		3		1	1		
35 - 39						1	1						1	1
40 - 44						1			1		2	1		
45 - 49							2	3						
50 - 54								1				1		
55 - 59					1						1	1		
Unknown							1							
Total	25	13	42	31	25	16	19	25	13	15	32	31	8	16

The number of in-migrants and out-migrants are shown separately in Fig. 6. The number of in-migrants exceeds that of out-migrants in each age-group over 20 years of age in 1971, suggesting that migrating households played certain role in the formation of the present village population.

Table 1 shows the present residence of those who were in Galok in 1971 and moved out later. More than one third of them live outside of the state. It is worth noting that ratio of males to females is higher for those living outside of the state. In this respect, migration to Ulu Kelantan may be considered to have similar characteristics to migration out of the state. Those moved out to Kuala Lumpur were mostly under 20 of age in 1971. Twenty-six adults (15 males and 11 females) aged 30 years and over in 1971 now live out of the village, which implies that out-migration was not necessarily limited to the younger generation. Their residences are, however, limited to within the state.

The role of natural increase will be examined as a base of the population change in Galok. Family planning had been newly introduced to rural areas and some women in Galok were practicing this in 1971. Owing to the reverse of direction in the population policy in Malaysia, family planning now seems to have disappeared in rural areas of Kelantan, including Galok. The expected number of births should have been reduced to some extent, owing to the upward shift of age at first marriage as a result of spread of middle-level education. The decrease in infant mortality and infant death rate, however,

may have kept the number of children alive at almost same as before. Age-specific birth-rates were calculated based on the birth history of the women of Galok for the past 20 years (Table 2).

TFR (Total Fertility Rate) is 4.860, which indicates a fairly high fertility, not far below the natural fertility. TFR for the period of 1982-1991 is even higher than that for 1972-1981.

Table 2 Age-specific Birth Rate & TFR

1972-1991

Age-group	Number of Births	Number of Years Lived	Birth Rate
15 - 19	43	651	0.066
20 - 24	173	758	0.228
25 - 29	180	673	0.267
30 - 34	113	564	0.200
35 - 39	70	426	0.164
40 - 44	13	342	0.038
45 - 49	3	340	0.009

TFR 4.860

1972-1981

15 - 19	36	431	0.084
20 - 24	85	380	0.224
25 - 29	70	252	0.278
30 - 34	34	190	0.179
35 - 39	25	181	0.138
40 - 44	5	161	0.031
45 - 49	1	160	0.006

TFR 4.700

1982-1991

15 - 19	7	220	0.032
20 - 24	88	378	0.233
25 - 29	110	421	0.261
30 - 34	79	374	0.211
35 - 39	45	245	0.184
40 - 44	8	181	0.044
45 - 49	2	180	0.011

TFR 4.880

The increase of the 1971 population was examined by counting surviving population and tracing direct descendents. Of male residents in 1971, 349 were thus traced. The number of surviving residents and direct descendents was 572 in 1991, of whom 285 lived in the village. The increase in the 20 years is 1.67 times, an annual increase of 2.59 percent. Those living in the village, however, show a slight decrease at annual rate of 1.01 percent. Of female residents and their descendents, 342 were traced in the same way, and 666 were found to be alive, of whom 283 lived in the village. Their increase in the 20 years is 1.82 times, equivalent to annual rate of 3.04 percent, while for those remaining in the village, the annual rate of decrease is 0.94 percent. The decrease of original residents and their descendents within the village is worthy of note.

Mortality was estimated using the survival ratio of the 1971 residents and model life table figures. Average life expectancy at age zero is 63.0 years for males and 65.0 years for females.³⁾ Death rate was estimated by applying relevant life table death rates calculated for 5-year age-groups (Level 20 in Model East for males and Level 19 in Model East for females). The average annual death rate is 7.3 per 1,000 population (6.5 for the male population and 8.1 for the female population). The birth rate calculated by adding the natural increase rate and the death rate is 32.4 for male population and 38.5 for the female population.

III Changes in Household Composition

Observation in 1971 shows that households in Galok are basically of nuclear family type though flexible at the same time. Coresidence of kin other than nuclear family members and the giving of some children to other relatives often occurred. Frequent divorces and remarriages modified household composition further.

Household compositions in 1971 and 1991 are shown according to the development stage, taking account of absent nuclear family members and optional household members such as a step-child, adopted child, coresident parent, divorced daughter, grandchild, or other relative (Table 3 and Table 4). Similar characteristics are observed in these two tables in the sense that household compositions contain the above-mentioned components. Households of the normal type are, however, increased to some extent in 1991, and certain new trends are also observed.

- 3) Life expectancy at birth estimated utilizing the four series of Model Life Tables by Coale and Demeny [1983] is shown in the following table by sex for each model.

fitness of the model	male			female		
	model	life table	e(0)	model	life table	e(0)
1	East	Level 20	63.0	East	Level 19	65.0
2	West	Level 20	63.6	West	Level 20	67.5
3	South	Level 18	58.6	South	Level 18	62.5
4	North	Level 20	53.8	North	Level 20	67.5

Table 3 Family Composition of Households in 1971

		Stage of Family Career								Total
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Number of households		3	6	59	0	30	18	14	16	146
Model composition		2	3	41		12	5	6	8	77
Missing members	Couple's unmarried children		1	7		1				9
	One spouse's unmarried children			10		1				11
	One spouse			2		4	10			16
Additional members	One spouse's unmarried children			6		4				10
	Adopted and foster children	1	2					3	1	7
	Parent					1				1
	Divorced children					5		1		6
	Grandchildren					12	7	5	7	31
	Collateral kin			1				1		2

Note: Polygynous husbands are included twice in the table, and the two households are treated separately. Cited from Kuchiba *et al.* [1979: 172].

Table 4 Family Composition of Households in 1991

		Stage of Family Career								Total
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Number of households		3	1	108	5	51	10	15	18	211
Model composition		1	1	71	3	26	1	10	12	125
Missing members	Couple's unmarried children			13	2	4	1			20
	One spouse's unmarried children			1		1				2
	One spouse			12		12	3			27
Additional members	One spouse's unmarried children			2		2				4
	Adopted and foster children			1						1
	Parent			11		3				14
	Divorced children							1	2	3
	Grandchildren					10	7	5	4	26
	Collateral kin	2		7			1		1	11

Note: Polygynous husbands are included twice in the table, and the two households are treated separately.

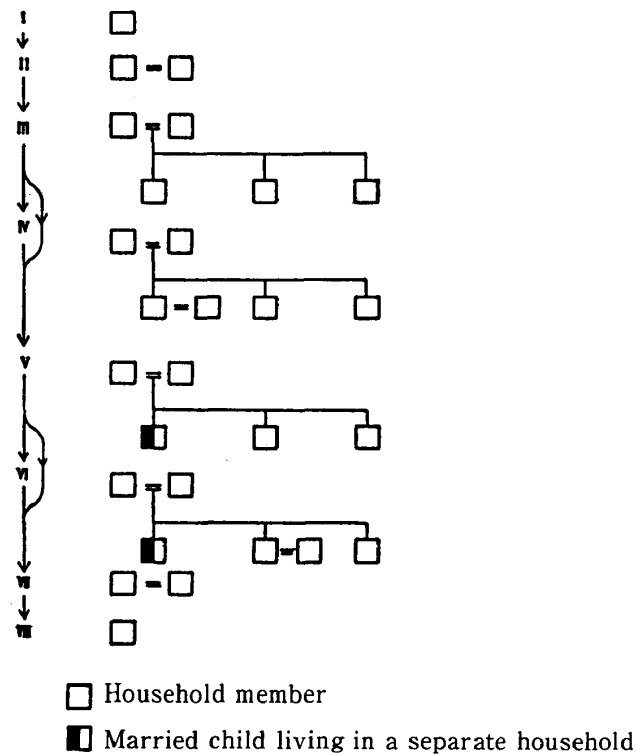


Fig. 7 The Stages of the Family Career

Small and dependent households decreased markedly. Households composed of a young single person (Stage I), a newly-wed couple without children (Stage II), an old couple with their children living apart (Stage VII), and a single old person (Stage VIII) showed no increase or sometimes, as in the case of Stage II, a decrease. Households including newly-wed couples staying with their parents (Stage IV) increased though the number was still small. Nuclear family households with no child yet married-out (Stage III) increased 1.83 times, and nuclear family households with at least one child married-out 1.70 times. These changes reflect the larger size of the houses in Galok. Young couples and old people do not live in a small cottage as they sometimes did in the past. It should also be noted that the number of young people has not increased much. The increase in average household size from 4.7 person in 1971 to 5.2 in 1991 corresponds to the above-mentioned changes. Decrease in the number of households containing a married child staying with parents (Stage VI) may be offset by the increase in households containing parent(s) as an optional member. There was only one example of the latter case in 1971, but 14 in 1991, corresponding to the changes in occupational activities and major contributors to the household income.

Another aspect of change is observed when absent nuclear family members and optional household members are counted. Households with one or more absent nuclear family members increased from 9 in 1971 to 20 in 1991. The figure for 1991 includes

the new phenomena of living apart for schooling or for employment. The number may be more if children over 18 years of age are counted, due to the trend toward late marriage in recent years.⁴⁾

A remarkable decrease is observed in the number of children by former marriages either living together or living apart. This may be related to less frequent remarriage as a result of less frequent divorce.⁵⁾ Households with adopted children decreased from 7 to 1. Thus, genuine kin-ties are becoming more important in household formation. Households including a divorced daughter also decreased from 6 in 1971 to 3 in 1991, reflecting the decrease in divorce.

The increase of those lacking a spouse may imply an increase in the number of widows as a result of extended life span and the difference in age between husband and wives. Decreased frequency of remarriage may also account for this. Separate households of husband and wife are a recent phenomenon that should not be overlooked, the details of which will be described later.

Households containing one or more coresident grandchildren decreased slightly from 31 in 1971 to 26 in 1991. However, when the parents included in Stage III are taken into account, the number of coresident grandparents and grandchildren should, rather, have increased. A decrease is observed in coresident grandchildren with a single old person in Stage VIII, implying that it became difficult for an economically deprived aged grandmother to live with her grandchild. The percentage of households of a single old person decreased

4) According to the interviews in 1971 to those ever-married, average age at first marriage was 21.5 for males and 16.5 for females.

5) Decrease of divorce occurred all over Kelantan, reflecting revisions in divorce procedures. Recent changes in the number of divorces in Kelantan are shown below.

year	marriage (<i>kahwin</i>)	divorce (<i>cerai</i>)	<i>rujuk</i>	divorces per 100 marriages
1973	8,705	4,480	579	51.5
1974	8,419	4,602	572	54.7
1975	8,275	4,637	609	56.0
1976	8,220	4,459	518	52.2
1977	8,165	4,309	556	52.8
1978	8,951	4,557	550	51.5
1979	8,869	4,118	588	46.4
1980	9,540	3,912	588	41.0
1981	9,307	3,780	530	40.6
1982	9,421	3,552	481	37.7
1983	9,711	3,566	528	36.7
1984	7,915	1,419	153	17.9
1985	8,065	1,608	159	19.9
1986	7,996	1,738	125	21.7
1987	8,989	1,604	113	17.8
1988	9,502	1,671	117	17.6
1989	9,536	1,686	117	17.7
1990	10,225	1,696	133	16.6

from 11.0 percent in 1971 to 8.5 percent in 1991. Now, single old people tend to live alone as observed above.

Households with other relatives increased from 2 in 1971 to 11 in 1991. It may be said that stronger living units have been formed utilizing available kinship ties. This tendency is not necessarily parallel to that found in Western countries.

IV Some Aspects of Household Composition

(1) *Follow-up of Couples from 1971*

Of couples living in Galok in 1971, 126 were traced to find out their marital status after 20 years (Table 5). Fifty-three couples experienced dissolution of marriage either by divorce or by death, while the remaining 73 couples continued married life. Dissolutions of marriage by death of the husband (26 cases) exceed those by death of the wife (6 cases), reflecting the age-difference between husband and wife and the difference in life expectancy for males and females.

There were 12 divorces distributed among seven out of eight age-groups between 20 and 59. It is interesting to note that the age-group of 20-24 in 1971 produced only 1 divorce out of 15 couples, suggesting a decline in the divorce tendency. It should also be noted that 10 out of 73 surviving couples moved out of the village. Most of them belong to the relatively young generation. Remarriages are also shown in Table 5. A higher tendency to remarry is found among those divorced than among those separated by death, and among males than among females. More people moved out of the village than stayed in the village after remarriage. Sixteen of those remarried thus moved out of the village.

(2) *Husband and Wife in Separate Households*

Cases of husband and wife living apart are increasing. The cases observed are as follows.

Case 1. The wife (30 years old) is a teacher born in Galok. The husband was also a teacher born in Tendong, Pasir Mas. The couple lived in Kuantan, but the husband entered university in Johor. The wife is now teaching in the neighboring village of Chekok while staying in her parents' house in Galok with her two daughters aged 3 years and 1 year.

Case 2. The wife (35 years old) is a teacher born in Galok. Husband is also a teacher born in the neighboring village of Padang Hangus. Both were working in Kuantan. After the death of the wife's father, the husband came back to Galok to stay with his mother-in-law with two of their six children leaving his wife with other children in Kuantan.

Case 3. Wife (41 years old) was born in Galok. Her husband (43 years old) was born in Pahang and works for the Fishery Department. They have four children, the eldest a 19-year-old daughter and the youngest a 3-year-old son. The husband was transferred from Kelantan to Kuala Lumpur three years ago. The wife stayed in Galok with her mother and

Table 5 Status of the Couples Traced from 1971

Husband's Age in 1971	Marital Status of the Couple in 1991					Number of Remarried Persons				Residence after Remarriage			
	Both Died	H Died W Alive	H Alive W Died	Divorced	Both Alive	H Remarried after		W Remarried after		Husband		Wife	
						W's Death	Divorce	H's Death	Divorce	Galok	Other Places	Galok	Other Places
20 - 24				1	15 (4)		1				1		
25 - 29		2	1	3	7 (3)		2	1	1		2		2
30 - 34			2	2	14 (1)	2	2		2	1	3	1	1
35 - 39		5		1	10 (1)			1	1				2
40 - 44	1	2	1	2	13 (1)	1		1	1		1	1	1
45 - 49		6			6								
50 - 54		5	1	1	5		1				1		
55 - 59	1		1	2	3		1				1		
60 - 64	4	3				1				1			
65 - 69	2	2											
70 - 74	1	1						1					1
Total	9	26	6	12	73 (10)	4	7	4	5	2	9	2	7

Note: Numbers of those living out of Galok are shown in parentheses.

four children and opened a coffee shop. The husband comes back to visit his family occasionally.

Case 4. Both husband (39 years old) and wife (30 years old) were born in Galok. The husband works for Army Intelligence and stays in Kelantan. Wife lives in Galok with their four children, the eldest a 9-year-old son and the youngest a 3-year-old daughter. The husband comes home every week.

Case 5. The wife (31 years old) was born in Galok and the husband in Trengganu. The husband works for FELDA (Federal Land Development Authority) and stays in Gua Musang. The wife lives in Galok with two children (9-year-old daughter and 7-year-old son). The husband comes home every week.

Case 6. The wife (23 years old) was born in Galok. She lives in the village with her 2-month-old baby, her mother and her step-father. The husband (24 years old) is a soldier at Tanah Merah.

Case 7. The husband (37 years old) was born in Galok and now works in Pahang. The wife and two children (3-year-old boy and 1-year-old boy) live with the wife's mother in Rantau Panjang. They are now building a house in Galok.

Case 8. The wife (about 35 years old) was born in the neighboring village of Jabo Hilir, and the husband was born in Chetok. The wife's elder brother lives in Galok. They built a house in Galok close to the brother's, and the wife lives there with five children. The husband is now running a coffee shop in Kuantan with his relative and comes home once a week.

The above cases suggest that separate households often appear when the wife has a strong attachment to her place of origin. The wife's professional activity may also compel the couple to live separately. In Case 2, both husband and wife wish to return to the village, and the husband got a chance earlier. It should be added that temporary separation occurs in the village quite often when a married man goes to Singapore as a migratory laborer.

Sometimes the children of a couple living apart elsewhere take the chance to stay with their grandparents in Galok. The cases are as follows.

Case 9. The wife (34 years old) was born in Galok and was working as midwife at a clinic in the neighboring village of Jabo. She was then transferred to Tanah Merah. The husband (33 years old) was born in Ulu Kelantan and now works there. Their 4-year-old boy and 1-year-old girl are now looked after in Galok by the grandparents.

Case 10. The husband (28 years old) was born in Galok and has been working at a saw-mill in Gua Musang for four years. The wife (26 years old) is a nurse born in Ulu Kelantan. She is now under-going further training for one year in Kuala Lumpur. Their 3-month-old baby is now taken care of by the 49-year-old grandfather and 45-year-old grandmother in Galok. The mother comes back to Galok once a month.

(3) *In-migrating Households*

Despite the decrease in the number of original residents and their direct descendents living in the village, the overall population of Galok increased through the influx of in-migrants from elsewhere. Details of these in-migrants will shed light on the character of the village.

The reasons for residence in Galok are shown in Table 6 for the 1991 resident households. Of the total of 211 households, 142, or 67.3 percent, had been living in Galok since 1971. These households include at least one member of the original household of 1971. Two marginal cases in which the original residents of 1971 died and their spouses who married-in after 1971 are staying are included in this category. Despite the continuity of membership that might be expected, changes are sometimes observed. For example, some of the original household members, in certain cases including household heads and their wives, moved out and their children returned to stay in the village.

There are 33 households (15.6 percent) that had returned to the village. Among them, 14 are households of those who lived in Galok in 1971, married out of the village, and had returned to Galok by 1991. The other 19 households are returning former residents who had left the village before 1971. If we take these households into consideration, it can be said that the increase of the village population was assured by the returning ex-residents.

Seven of these returning ex-residents had stayed in Pahang. Other returning ex-residents include three from Thailand, three from Trengganu, two from Ulu Kelantan, two from Kota Baharu, one from Sabah, and two from the army. Other returning households are from neighboring villages, including Atas Beting, Hutan Mala, Padang H Angus, Kankung, Tujuh. A considerable number returned from rubber estate areas of Pahang, Thailand, and

Table 6 Reasons for Residence in Galok

Reason	Number of Households
Household members continue to live there	142
Householder is originally from Galok	33
Kin lives in Galok	7
Friend lives in Galok	2
Moved in from nearby village	22
Bought a piece of land in Galok	5
Total	211

Ulu Kelantan, where they had migrated out of the village. Several teachers returned from Sabah, Trengganu, and Penang. They started their teaching careers in these states away from Kelantan, and looked for a chance to return. Those who returned from neighboring villages might have been motivated by comparison of living conditions. In addition to the above-mentioned cases, a divorced woman started a new household after her return to the village.

Seven migrant households (3.3 percent) had relatives in Galok though they were born elsewhere. Some of them owned inherited land in Galok, and others borrowed land from relatives free of charge (*tumpang*). Similar circumstances are found in two households (0.9 percent) which came to live in the village through acquaintance. In these latter cases, the migrants' status in the village is less stable. One migrated from Kota Baharu, renting a house in Galok where his wife's elder sister had married-in. The other came from Thailand, borrowed a compound free of charge to build a temporary hut, and engaged in wage labor.

Twenty-two households (10.4 percent) migrated from neighboring villages including Jabo, Jintan, Atas Beting, Hutan Mala, and Chetok. Many of them built their houses on their own plots around Galok at some distance from the main road, as the road-side plots were all occupied by the original residents. The population of Jabo, which was opened earlier than Galok, being nearer to the Kelantan River, is said to have decreased remarkably.

Five households bought land in Galok and came to stay. Two of them are a father and son working as contractors, who happened to find the land for sale when they had a construction job in Galok. A teacher and a driver, both working in Tanah Merah, bought some land in Galok and moved in. A resident of Jintan bought his compound from someone in Kota Baharu who originated from Galok. The above are cases of strangers who bought land in Galok. There are at least two out-migrants from Galok who had obtained land through purchase before they came back to the village. The migrants through acquaintance in Galok, those moved from neighboring villages, and those who purchased land in Galok total 29 households. These cases imply that the village is not closed to outsiders.

V Concluding Remarks

The migratory character of the residents is obvious. A total exchange of the population might be imagined if attention is paid only to the number of people moving out and moving in. But the fact is that the majority of the residents in 1991 are still of Galok origin. The community is not exclusive, but outside factors are not predominant.

The return of migrants may be a temporary phenomenon observed in a village which is not far from towns and where such facilities as electricity, water supply, and telephone service have become available. If it were not for this situation, a population decrease might have taken place as it has in some villages along the river. It should be remembered that the original residents of 1971 have been decreasing. Two forms of migration are operating at the same time. For those who migrated into Galok, living conditions in their former

residence were probably inferior to those of Galok. And the young people who moved out of Galok had decided to do so according to their own judgement. Migration to and from Galok is thus doubly structured.

Economic considerations on one hand and orientation toward kin and community on the other hand play pulling and/or pushing roles. For those coming back to the village, the latter plays a certain role. For teachers, return to the village is understandable when these two orientations are taken into consideration.

Households in Galok seem to have been strengthened as economic units in parallel with construction of larger and better equipped dwellings. Weaker and smaller households composed of, for example, grandmother and grandchild, became fewer, and it is probable that only independent, relatively young grandparents will be able to take care of grandchildren living apart from their parents. Weaker households, though fewer in number, are more dependent on remittances from working children.

Step-children are decreasing in line with decreasing divorces and subsequent remarriages. Adopted children are also decreasing. In this way, household composition in Galok is becoming purer in terms of blood relations. At the same time, an extended family composition of households is required in order to establish a stronger economic unit. Among Malays, the nuclear family is not an ideological ideal, but would appear to be a natural consequence of blood ties.

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